

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1974

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THE 1974 CAMPAIGN

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Clark Makes Public His Hanoi Tapes; Sees 'Cloak and Dagger' Act by Javits

By MAURICE CARROLL

Ramsey Clark made public yesterday tapes and transcripts of his 1972 comments over Radio Hanoi and denounced Senator Jacob K. Javits for a "cloak-and-dagger stunt" in ordering the material from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Radio reporters pressed microphones close to a cassette to catch the beeps and muffled words, and others scanned 10 single-spaced pages full of "umms" and "word indistinct" notes. The material, however, all consisted of Mr. Clark's expressions of horror at the death and destruction caused by American bombing and his praise of the "indomitable spirit" of the Vietnamese people.

The recorded words recalled the summer of 1972 when, as the Nixon-McGovern campaign

for the Presidency took shape, the Nixon Administration simultaneously increased its negotiating efforts for a Vietnam settlement and its bombing of North Vietnam. The peace movement, growing in strength and in persistence, was seeking to speed an end to the war, in part through visits to North Vietnam.

That period lived again briefly this year. Mr. Javits announced on Tuesday that he had requested and received the tapes from the Central Intelligence Agency; in a move denounced by Mr. Clark as "a fraud on the American people."

The tap recordings, according to Senate Javits, are available to anyone under the Freedom of Information Act.

Mr. Clark, the Democratic candidate for Mr. Javits's seat

in the Senate, suggested that the introduction of the tapes might backfire against Mr. Javits, the Republican candidate for re-election.

"I don't think the American people are going to be taken," he said.

No Political Assessment

But a bit later, during a news conference in a campaign storefront at 401 Fifth Avenue near 38th Street, he declined to offer a "purely political assessment" of the likely effect of this issue toward the close of a campaign in which, most politicians believe, he has been giving Mr. Javits an unusually close race.

"If I do that, I'll be a purely political person," Mr. Clark said. "And I don't want to be that. I want to stand for something."

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Campaign is considered by most politicians to be perceptive and practical in its political judgments.

Yesterday, for instance, Mr. Clark attempted to diminish the impact of the release of the broadcasts by having breakfast with the Bronx Democrats leader, Patrick Cunningham, and

Clark's Hanoi Comments

Following are samples of the comments by Ramsey Clark that were broadcast by Radio Hanoi in 1972, according to Central Intelligence Agency transcripts made public by Mr. Clark:

"This province shows as few others perhaps the terrible contrast between war and peace. It also shows that the indomitable spirit of a people can never be overcome."

"My experience tells me that, as has been told by Aristotle, that the chief and universal cause of the revolutionary impulse is the desire for equality. You see no internal conflict in this country. I've seen none. You feel a unity in spirit. I doubt very seriously that I could walk in safety in Saigon or the cities and villages of South Vietnam, as I have here, because of the division and the confusion and the lack of faith and belief there."

"So I guess, it seems to me that the people here believe. They believe in the righteousness of their purpose and that it is an irresistible force."

"You see that the terror of the bombing, the horror of the bombing and the death of the bombing redoubles the determination of the people to fight on. We conclude from that that the bombing is not only inhumane—and there is no greater need for mankind, if you have to survive, than humanism—the bombing is not only inhumane, it is stupid. It must cease. It only prolongs violence."

"It's so pitiful that the violence of technology would be used to destroy the lives of such a gentle and simple and beautiful people."

"One thing is very clear, and that is that when military aircraft bomb a country where there is no military engagement going on, where there is no actual battle being engaged in, they will inevitably kill innocent people, kill civilians and destroy schools and hospitals, as we have seen this morning."